1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

of any one family seldom remained constant for more than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There were definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

1. The family ideal. Large families, especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice the ideal was limited by economic means. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions, individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income. On the other hand, because of the existence of extended families and the clan structure, less fortunate members of these groups might be helped by relatives to gain a living or an education. A substantial amount of land was usually allotted to the communal family or clan for

2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the study of the Family.

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religious, educational, or charity purposes by illustrious members of the family or clan. Nepotism was simply a projection of the family ideal of mutual help among the members. Clan nepotism often accounted for a man's rise on the social and economic ladder. This practice contributed to the upward movement of poorer segments of the population who otherwise might not have advanced socially and economically in a relatively short period of time.

2. The scholar ideal. Learning was much esteemed, especially when combined with wealth. The prestige of the wealthy was never complete until their wealth was adorned with culture. Indication of respect for learning was common in China, as typified by the saying: "Although your children may be of low intelligence, you as parents should make them study the Classics."[4] The emphasis on learning was buttressed by the imperial examination system, the means by which official positions were obtained, which in turn, was the quickest means to the acquisition of wealth and social prestige in China during peace time. The saying, "After I have studied I will take a government position," was indicative of the usual goal of education. Wealthy families as a matter of course and poorer families at great

4. This stress on learning and cultivation of the Chinese was studied by Max Weber in his Religion of China. Weber goes so far as to conclude that this emphasis caused the lack of capital accumulation necessary for the development of modern capitalism in China.

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←on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the examinations was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It

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bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imported to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors, this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün-tzu).

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5. On the clan see Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

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Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors. 618

Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted in the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households. 631

D. Economic Role

As the definition of the term "family" infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses, and workshops were owned by the family rather than by individuals. When disharmony caused the breakup of a joint family, its real property was divided among the constituent conjugal families, each as a new family claiming title to the portion of property which fell to its share. 596

The peasant, artisan, and small-merchant families were units of both production and 596 462

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V. CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA

A. Strength of Family and Clan

Although by the twentieth century the vitality of the clan had deteriorated in most of China, it retained a strong position in the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, and Kwangtung. In Kwangtung, it had reached its highest degree of development and continued to play a major role in the society up to World War II.[36]

One reason for the strength of the clan in Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Kiangsi was that entire villages in these provinces consisted of members of only one or a few clans. For instance, of the 1,291 villages in Kao-an hsien in western Kiangsi, 86.5 per cent had one surname only, 8.05 per cent two surnames, and only .69 per cent more than four. By contrast, a study of Ting hsien, a hsien in Hopei, showed only one of 62 villages with a single tsu, and in none of them did it play a significant part in village administration.[37]

Daniel Kulp's investigation of a small village near Chaochow in the 1920's and Olga Lang's study of twenty-four Kwangtung clans just before

36. Hu, op. cit., pp. 10-11; Lang op. cit., pp. 173-79.

37. Hu, op. cit., p. 14.

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← World War II indicate that in Kwangtung, at least, clan administration of the village was the rule rather than the exception.[38] Independent of the state except in the matter of taxes, major crimes, and the necessity of registering marriages, the village governed itself through enforcement by the clan of centuries-old customs inculcated by the family. Clan rule was not weakened when the Republic introduced officials at the village subdistrict levels, where none had existed under the imperial government. The new officials were recruited from the same group which had managed the clans, and clan and government posts were often held by the same individual.[39]

Leadership in the clan was theoretically based on age and scholarship. In reality, however, control was held by a few wealthy and influential families belonging to the strongest branches of the clan. When Kulp and Lang made their investigations, leadership in the village was beginning to be challenged by younger men who had demonstrated their natural abilities by the acquisition of individual wealth, a modern education, or an official position. Lang found that the Kwangtung clans she studied were led

38. D. H. Kulp, Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism, Vol. 1. Phenix Village, Kwangtung, China, New York, Columbia University, 1952; and Olga Lang, op. cit., pp. 173-78.

39. Lang, op. cit., pp. 177-78.

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by 26 landlords, 16 merchants, 2 officials, 2 rentiers supported by overseas businessmen sons, 1 teacher 1 school principal, 1 geomancer, and 11 peasants -- 8 of them well-to-do.[40] 618

Leadership in the clan was sought because those in power controlled immense wealth which could be manipulated to increase individual or family influence and wealth. Besides its duties, which included the keeping of the peace among the clan's composite branches and families, the clan was responsible for the maintenance of the ancestral temples, the conduct of ancestor worship, the defense of clan interests before the government authorities, and the administration of clan property. The twenty-four clans studied by Lang controlled anywhere from 10 to 90 per cent of arable land, the majority holding between 50 to 70 per cent.[41]

Even in its last stronghold, the clan is a dying institution. Its authority was being undermined by the growing disproportion of wealth among its members, the dissatisfactions arising from misappropriation of clan wealth, and the subversive forces of industrialization, modernization, and modern city life. With the victory of Communism in the Central-South Region in 1949, the clans ceased to have any functional existence. They have left behind a pattern of

40. Ibid., p. 175.
41. Ibid., p. 174.

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independence of central government control and of familial order and loyalty that may not be easily erased by the Communist's authoritarian regime.

B. Overseas Communities

A peculiarity of the family in the coastal area of Kwangtung (and Fukien in the East China Region) has necessitated much innovation and adjustment by the Communist regime. From the coastal area of Kwangtung has come the overwhelming majority of Chinese emigrants to Southeast Asia and other parts of the world. The Communists calculate that the Kwangtung people abroad and family dependents in China number 13,000,000, or one out of every three of the province's population. Overseas family dependents in Kwangtung itself number 6,000,000, according to the Communists.[42]

Before the Japanese invasion of China, the family in these overseas communities was similar in solidarity, values, and social role to the family elsewhere in China, but unique in that often the male head was separated from his wife and their children for most of his adult life. If he could affort it, he maintained a concubine and a separate family in the overseas community. Although it was usual for the children of this overseas union to be sent to China

42. S.C.M.P., 985, p. 15.